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# Operationalising United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 within the Australian Defence Force

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#### **ABSTRACT**

This literature review surveys and analyses the existing literature, policy and practice in order to support Headquarters Joint Operations Command's comprehensive incorporation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 into Australian Defence Force (ADF) operational planning and conduct. It draws upon academic literature as well as practitioner reports on military implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. The literature review will enhance understanding of good practice and inform the development of measures of effectiveness for the ADF's implementation of Australia's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018.<sup>1</sup>

#### **RELEASE LIMITATION**

Approved for public release

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 2012. Australian National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018. Canberra: Australian Government.

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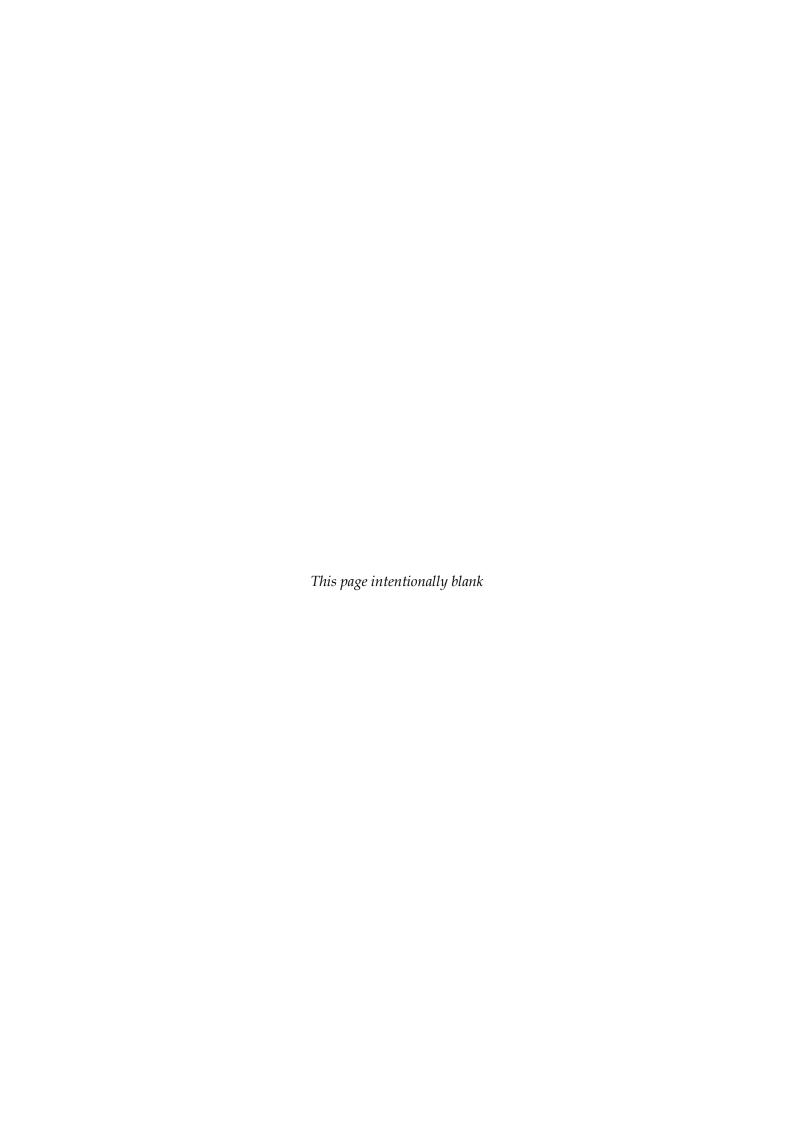
# Operationalising United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 within the Australian Defence Force

# **Executive Summary**

This literature review has been commissioned as part of a broader project to support the operationalisation of Women, Peace and Security into Australia's joint military planning and the conduct of operations domestically, regionally and internationally. The report will enhance understanding of good practice and inform the development of measures of effectiveness for the Australian Defence Force's implementation of Australia's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018.<sup>2</sup> Firstly, it will situate this project in the relevant theoretical literature, it will also provide an analysis of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) on Women, Peace and Security. Lastly, it will review empirical academic research on thematic issues of relevance to the military implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda in the context of population centric operations.

There is little academic research addressing the widespread military operationalisation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. However, valuable theoretical and practical research has been undertaken within the context of specific thematic issues that are integral to the deliberate planning and conduct of joint military operations. These issues include the legal framework for operations; intelligence process for conflict analysis; deliberate planning processes and products; security sector reform; disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration; transition assistance; and disaster response. Consideration of the gendered dimensions of each of these key issues allows for the strategic integration of Women, Peace and Security into the planning, conduct and transition of joint military operations domestically, regionally and internationally.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 2012. Australian National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018. Canberra: Australian Government.



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# **Acronyms**

AC-FLOC Adaptive Campaigning – Future Land Operating Concept

ADF Australian Defence Force

DDR Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration

IHL International Humanitarian LawJMAP Joint Military Appreciation ProcessNATO North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NAP National Action Plan SSR Security Sector Reform

UN United Nations

UNSCR United Nations Security Council Resolution

WPS Women, Peace and Security

## 1. Introduction

This literature review has been commissioned as part of a broader project to support the operationalisation of Women, Peace and Security into Australia's joint military planning and the conduct of operations domestically, regionally and globally. The literature review will enhance understanding of good practice and inform the development of measures of effectiveness for implementing *Australia's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* 2012-2018.<sup>3</sup> Firstly, it will situate this project in the relevant theoretical literature, it will also provide an analysis of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) on Women, Peace and Security. Lastly, it will review empirical academic research on thematic issues of relevance to the military implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda in the context of population centric operations.

The thematic issues discussed here are based on requirements of the Australian Defence Force (ADF). However, they are relevant to many militaries with obligations to implement the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. Despite having slightly different approaches to employment of women in the defence force, and slightly different doctrinal approaches to stabilisation, counterinsurgency and peace operations; the insights provided in this literature review may prove useful for allied nations including America, Britain, Canada and New Zealand as well as other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

There are two key terms used throughout this literature review that need to be defined from the outset: sex and gender. Sex is the anatomy with which a person is born. Here, derivatives of the terms man and woman are used, though issues related to transsexual individuals are also relevant to this area of study.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand gender is defined as the socially constructed roles given to people, often based on their sex. The relevant terms for gender include masculinity and femininity. These roles are not fixed and it is important to note that because they are socially constructed, they are not specific to individuals, and may vary between and within cultures. In an operational context, the differences between sex and gender need to be understood in order that our presuppositions don't interfere with one's understanding of the operational environment and the effective security operations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 2012. Australian National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018. Canberra: Australian Government.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> DOLAN, C. 2014. Letting go of the gender binary: Charting new pathways for humanitarian interventions on gender-based violence. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 96, 485-501.

# 2. Theoretical context

#### 2.1 Constructivism

Traditionally, International Relations scholars were only interested in the relationships between states. However, constructivist scholars within the discipline have helped us understand the inter-state relationships by looking at the individual actors and the structures within which they act. Constructivists maintain that the acts of individuals affect the structures of international relations, and reciprocally the structures affect the behaviour of individuals<sup>5</sup>. This fundamental principle of constructivist International Relations theory is paramount to understanding how an international policy agenda can be implemented by organisations and structures of national government.

The work of Egnell, Hojem and Berts reinforces the utility of constructivist theory in understanding the operationalisation of WPS in military organisations. Of the three key factors identified as reasons for the successful implementation of WPS in the Swedish Armed Forces, they identified two key constructivist ideas: the importance of the work and agents of change, and the organisational placement of one of those agents of change. "The strategic placement of the Gender Advisor and the focus on operational effectiveness not only amplified the implementation of a gender perspective in the Swedish Armed Forces as a core issue of output in terms of operations, but also sent a strong signal to the organisation regarding the importance of a gender perspective in the conduct of military affairs."

#### 2.2 Feminist International Relations

Much of the academic literature on Women, Peace and Security draws on feminist traditions in the discipline of International Relations. <sup>7</sup> Within International Relations, maternal and cultural feminists argue that women's participation in peace and security institutions will inherently lead to a more peaceful world. <sup>8</sup> Liberal feminists argue that women's participation in peace and security is simply a matter of equal rights, but don't necessarily expect women to be inherently peaceful. While women's participation in peace and security processes is a matter of equal rights, this project is primarily concerned with peace and security outcomes.

As Egnell reminds us, "the core task of military organisations is to fight and win the nation's wars, or to apply organised violence, or threat of such violence in pursuit of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> WENDT, A. 1992. Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organizations*, 46, 391-425.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> EGNELL, R., HOJEM, P. & BERTS, H. 2014. Gender, Military Effectiveness, and Organisational Change

<sup>-</sup> The Swedish Model, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan. pp6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> TICKNER, J. A. 2001. *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*, New York, Columbia University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> CHARLESWORTH, H. 2008. Are Women Peaceful? Reflections on the Role of Women in Peace-Building. *Feminist Legal Studies*, 16, 347-361.

national leadership's political aims." In Sweden much of the success of implementing the WPS agenda is credited to the fact that gender perspective was considered "an issue of operational effectiveness rather than just a largely politically-laden human resources issue of women's rights and participation." As such, this literature review draws on critical feminist literature, reviewing material on a whole range of women's experiences of conflict and instability.

Enloe's seminal 1989 text, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* kick-started a feminist movement within the International Relations discipline. It broadened the considerations of key issues such as the placement of international military bases by including the concerns of local communities that were 'hosting' bases into the understanding of security. <sup>11</sup> Subsequently, there has been an increase in the attention paid to the impact of armed conflict on women and children. However, most of this research focuses on women as victims, particularly of sexual violence, <sup>12</sup> at the hand of an aggressor, such as in the mass rapes in Berlin at the end of WWII. <sup>13</sup> Scholars like Karam have catalogued a range of victim centric studies on women in war and shown there is a lack of analysis of women's agency in conflict. <sup>14</sup>

More recently, increasing attention has been given to the role of women in peace literature,<sup>15</sup> and in addition we know that women play a vast range of roles in conflict.<sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> From ancient to modern history, women have been known as the Amazonian warriors<sup>18</sup> and genocidaires in Rwanda.<sup>19</sup> Women have been combat troops in regular armed forces of cutting edge militaries around the world;<sup>20</sup> women have been involved in special operations with United States' armed forces; and have been armed combatants in non-state armed groups in Sri Lanka, Columbia, Kurdistan.<sup>21</sup> In Ethiopia<sup>22</sup> and Bougainville<sup>23</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> EGNELL, R., HOJEM, P. & BERTS, H. 2014. Gender, Military Effectiveness, and Organisational Change

<sup>-</sup> The Swedish Model, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan. pp7

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. pp7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> ENLOE, C. 2014. Bananas, Beaches and Bases, Berkeley, University of California Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> HEATHCOTE, G. & OTTO, D. 2014. *Rethinking Peacekeeping, Gender Equality and Collective Security,* London, Palgrave MacMillan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> MESSERSCHMIDT, J. 2006. The Forgotten Victims of World War II - Masculinities and Rape in Berlin, 1945. *Violence Against Women*, 12, 706-712.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> KARAM, A. 2001. Women in War and Peace-building: The Roads Traversed, The Challenges Ahead. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 3, 2-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> PORTER, E. 2007. Peacebuilding: Women in international perspective, Oxon, Routledge.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> COHN, C. 2013. Women & Wars, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> PORTER, E. & MUNDKUR, A. 2012. Peace and Security: Implications for Women, Penguin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> HERRMANN, I. & PALMAIERI, D. 2010. Between Amazons and Sabines: a historical approach to women and war. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 92, 19-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> JONES, A. 2002. Gender and genocide in Rwanda. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 4, 65-94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> AMIR, M. 2014. Women Speaking of National Security: The Case of Checkpoint Watch. *International Political Sociology*, 8, 363-378.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> SHAMSI, P. 2015. The Sub-Conflict Between ISIL and the Kurdish Forces: Women's Participation Beyond Armed Struggle. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS*. Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> TUSO, H. 2000. Indigenous Processes of Conflict Resolution in Oromo Society. *In:* ZARTMAN, I. W. (ed.) *Traditional Cures for Modern Conflicts: African Conflict "Medicine"*. United States of America: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.

women have forced fighting men from their combat zones to the peace table. Women have organised extremely influential protest movements like 'Mothers of the *Plaza de Mayo*'<sup>24</sup> and organisations like the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom have maintained a feminist peace movement for over a century.<sup>25</sup> This literature review passes no judgement or limitation on the roles women may play in conflict and instability. Instead, it aims to capture women's diverse experiences, articulating them in a manner that shows their relevance to the design and conduct of contemporary military operations.

# 2.3 Population Centric Operations

Population Centric Operations is a concept that evolved from *Adaptive Campaigning – Future Land Operating Concept*<sup>26</sup> (AC-FLOC). AC-FLOC is the capstone concept of operations for the Australian Army. First published in 2009, it was updated and rereleased by Chief of Army in 2012. AC-FLOC includes five lines of operation to respond to conflict in the future operating environment. Those lines of operation are: joint land combat, population protection, information actions, population support, and indigenous capacity building. Conceptually, two of those lines of operation, population protection and population support have been merged in the concept of population centric operations. However, the indigenous capacity building line of operation is also relevant to this project, particularly as it pertains to thematic issues such as security sector reform; disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration; and transition assistance.

The population support line of operation reflects the widespread understanding that there is a correlation between development and security. Indeed the Sustainable Development Goals, the internationally agreed development framework due to replace the Millennium Development Goals, include a goal on peace and justice, although the relationship is a complex one. The Feinstein Institute undertook a large study on the relationship between aid and security in Afghanistan. The findings of which showed that security driven by aid had limited effect on long-term stability because it often lacked a focus on the drivers of conflict and alienation. Furthermore, they found an insufficient understanding of the political economy which meant security directed aid in fact contributed to destabilisation by fuelling corruption and delegitimising the government and international community.<sup>27</sup>

From a gender perspective, Egnell makes it clear that Gender Advisors should focus their energy on internal organisational matters, such as deliberate planning, and that external aid projects for women should be abandoned. He goes on to say "there are several reasons for this. Most importantly, such 'external projects', performed by military units, have

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> POLLARD, A. 2003. Women's organizations, voluntarism, and self-financing in Solomon Islands: a participant perspective. *Oceania*, 74, 44-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> BOUVARD, M. G. 1994. *Revolutionizing motherhood: the mothers of the Plaza de Mayo,* Oxford, SR Books.

VELLACOTT, J. 1993. A place for pacifism and transnationalism in feminist theory: the early work of the women's international league for peace and freedom. Women's History Review, 2, 23-56.
 HEAD MODERNISATION AND STRATEGIC PLANNING 2012. Army's Future Land Operating Concept. In: AUSTRALIAN ARMY HEADQUARTERS (ed.) Second ed. Canberra: Department of Defence.

seldom improved women's conditions in the area of operations, or won the 'hearts and minds' of the local population. Even if external projects may at times produce small measurable improvements in women's rights or local support, the limited nature of such results must be measured against the potential to increase military effectiveness by helping the rest of the unit conduct operations, win local legitimacy, and increase its cultural understanding of a gender perspective." <sup>28</sup>

Neither set of findings implies that no support should be provided to the population. Indeed, there are a range of legal obligations to do so. International humanitarian law (IHL) states that the survival needs of the population must be accounted for. Local authorities have the responsibility to address these needs. If they do not provide for the survival of the local population they must permit free passage of relief operations.<sup>29</sup> The Hague Regulations state that an occupying force must restore an occupied territory to its pre-war state and facilitate a return to 'normal life', although that does not always equate to equality for all. "The authority of the legitimate power having in fact passed into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take all measures in his power to restore, and ensure, as far as possible, public order and safety" <sup>30</sup> This includes the maintenance and provision of infrastructure, shelter, health, education, quality of life and public works.

Population protection is a line of operation that goes beyond the legal obligations to protect civilians in the Geneva Conventions. Protection is a key pillar of the Women, Peace and Security agenda and will be discussed further, as well as in the section on the legal framework. The population protection line of operation in AC-FLOC is closely related to the same principle in counterinsurgency theory, as well as stabilisation operations.

# 3. Background to Women, Peace and Security

#### 3.1 The Resolutions

In October 2000, the United Nations (UN) Security Council passed Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security (WPS). This resolution was the first to recognise not only that women and girls are disproportionately affected by armed conflict, but that women's participation in peace processes is not only lacking but is vital to international peace and security. Indeed, the first operative clause of the resolution "urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict." <sup>31</sup> It goes on to call for the protection of women and girls in accordance with IHL, as well as urging "special measures to protect women

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> EGNELL, R., HOJEM, P. & BERTS, H. 2014. *Gender, Military Effectiveness, and Organisational Change - The Swedish Model, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.* pp9-10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> 1977. Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts Article 18, paragraph 2

<sup>30 1907.</sup> Hague Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land., Article 43

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1325. (2000).

and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict." <sup>32</sup> Implementing the WPS agenda requires a concerted effort from a large range of international and national agencies including UN Women, national militaries, development agencies, non-government organisations and civil society groups.

Subsequent to UNSCR 1325, the Security Council passed six additional WPS resolutions. The agenda is broadly split into the two components of that first resolution: protection from sexual violence, and participation in peace and security activities. These two components are connected; they are mutually reinforcing. But in many ways, they are considered separately in both policy and practice. Resolutions 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009),<sup>33</sup> 1960 (2010), and 2106 (2013), are concerned with sexual and gender-based violence in armed conflict. Most significantly, they label the widespread and systemic use of sexual violence against women and girls as a crime against humanity and constituent of genocide. Resolution 1889 (2009) and 2122 (2013)<sup>34</sup> go into great detail about increasing women's participation and supporting women's leadership in all aspects of conflict prevention, mitigation and recovery. Each of these resolutions will be referenced throughout the literature review. In late 2015, a new resolution<sup>35</sup> from the Security Council on participation, conflict prevention and countering violent extremism emerged.

#### 3.2 Protection

Four of the six subsequent resolutions are concerned with the *protection* of women and children from sexual violence during armed conflict. The protection agenda has led to stronger mandates for peacekeeping missions; the deployment of women protection advisors to political and peacekeeping missions; and the Stop Rape Now campaign, uniting the work of thirteen UN entities with the goal of ending sexual violence in conflict. The protection agenda relates strongly to the work of military and police, although in practice it allows for a broader human security approach than would otherwise be considered by those agencies.<sup>36</sup> It incorporates work to effectively respond to the specific needs of survivors, gender responsive disaster relief, addressing impunity and supporting accountability efforts.<sup>37</sup>

Conflict related sexual violence occurs within the greater context of the political economy of violence against women.<sup>38</sup> According to the World Health Organisation, the "underlying purpose is frequently the expression of power and dominance over the

<sup>33</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1888. (2009)-a.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 2122. (2013)-b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 2242. (2015)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> HUTCHINSON, S. 2009. Human Security in the ADF. Australian Defence Force Journal, 58-69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> FOREIGN & COMMONWEALTH OFFICE 2014. International Protocol on the Documentation and Investigation of Sexual Violence in Conflict. First ed. London: Government of United Kingdom. pp6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> TRUE, J. 2012. The Political Economy of Violence Against Women, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

person assaulted."<sup>39</sup> Conflict can exacerbate existing inequalities within a community power structure, and lead to an increase in sexual and gender-based violence. In East Timor one in four women reported sexual violence during the crisis. After the crisis, this figure dropped to one in eight.<sup>40</sup> However, this does not mean there is a simple continuum of violence against women. Not all sexual and gender-based violence occurring within a conflict environment, is related to the conflict. Some violence may simply be opportunistic or entrenched in widespread beliefs and norms about the subordinate status of women.<sup>41</sup> Other factors may include a breakdown in law and order and prevalence of post-traumatic stress disorder.

"Sexual violence not only affects hundreds of thousands of women and girls, but also affects and victimises men and boys." 42 Sexual violence against men and boys is described as "regular and unexceptional, pervasive and widespread." 43 It can be used "as an instrument of terror and collective punishment, during detention and interrogation, as an expression of ethnic hatred and humiliation, and to emasculate and shatter leadership structures." 44 Rape can be committed by foreign objects such as guns, sticks, and broken bottles and can be committed by men or women; to men or women. 45 Data on sexual violence is notoriously difficult to gather. This is even more so for sexual violence against men and boys. Despite this, sexual violence against men and boys has been reported in more than 25 conflicts in the past decade. 46 In the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, 23.6% of men, and 39.7% of women reported being subject to sexual violence and for 64% of these men, the sexual violence was conflict-related. 47

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> KRUG, E., DAHLBERG, L., MERCY, J., ZWI, A. & LOZANO, R. 2002. Sexual Violence. *World Report on Violence and Health*. Geneva: World Health Organization. pp149

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> UNITED NATIONS 2010. Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice. New York: United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women),.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> SHTEIR, S. 2014. Conflict-related Sexual and Gender-based Violence - An Introductory Overview to Support Prevention and Response Efforts. *Civil-Military Occassional Papers*. Queanbeyan: Australian Civil-Military Centre.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> FOREIGN & COMMONWEALTH OFFICE 2014. International Protocol on the Documentation and Investigation of Sexual Violence in Conflict. First ed. London: Government of United Kingdom. pp6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> SHTEIR, S. 2014. Conflict-related Sexual and Gender-based Violence - An Introductory Overview to Support Prevention and Response Efforts. *Civil-Military Occassional Papers*. Queanbeyan: Australian Civil-Military Centre. pp 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> UNITED NATIONS 2010. Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice. New York: United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women),.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> ASKIN, K. 2004. A Decade of the Development of Gender Crimes in International Courts and Tribunals: 1993 to 2003. *Human Rights Brief.* Washington D.C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> SHTEIR, S. 2014. Conflict-related Sexual and Gender-based Violence - An Introductory Overview to Support Prevention and Response Efforts. *Civil-Military Occassional Papers*. Queanbeyan: Australian Civil-Military Centre. pp 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> JOHNSON, K., ASHER, J., ROSBOROUGH, S., RAJA, A., PANJABI, R., BEADLING, C. & LAWRY, L. 2008. Association of combatant status and sexual violence with health and mental health outcomes in post-conflict Liberia. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 300, 676-690.

Australia has operational experience in places where gender-based violence has been rife. In some of those contexts, it would be considered mission creep to intervene in what might appear to be cases of domestic violence. There are two key considerations for this issue. The first is about having the ability to collectively identify when sexual violence is widespread and systematic, thereby being used as a weapon of war. Commanders have an obligation to report this to relevant national and international authorities. If patrols are simply ignoring violence against women they see, it is unlikely aggregate data will be gathered.<sup>48</sup>

The second consideration speaks more broadly to the strategic objectives relating to stabilisation. "In addition to the extreme physical and psychological trauma suffered by survivors/witnesses, sexual violence may engender and aggravate ethnic, sectarian and other divisions in communities. This engrains conflict and instability and undermines peace-building and stabilisation efforts." <sup>49</sup> Indeed, UNSCR 1820 stresses that sexual violence "can significantly exacerbate situations of armed conflict and may impede the restoration of international peace and security." <sup>50</sup>

# 3.3 Participation

The recent Secretary General's Report on WPS "strongly underlined the need for increased and enhanced participation of women in all areas of peace and security decision making, both on the basis of human rights obligations and because women's effective and meaningful participation contributes to greater operational effectiveness." <sup>51</sup> For the purposes of this project, we need to consider two key aspects of women's participation in peace and security processes. One is the presence of international women in an intervention. The other is local women's contributions to the peace and security processes of their own community. Both of these aspects are important to military operations.

Internationally, one measure of women's participation is the number of women who sit on the Security Council, as are women who are peace envoys. From a military perspective we could look at women's participation in international governing bodies such as the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, NATO<sup>52</sup> or other regional organisations like the Pacific Island Forum Regional Security Committee.<sup>53</sup> Increasing women's participation in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> UNITED NATIONS 2010. Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice. New York: United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women),.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> FOREIGN & COMMONWEALTH OFFICE 2014. International Protocol on the Documentation and Investigation of Sexual Violence in Conflict. First ed. London: Government of United Kingdom. pp6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1820. (2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL 2015. Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security. New York: United Nations. para 6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> LACKENAUER, H. & LANGLAIS, R. 2013. Review of the Practical Implications of UNSCR 1325 for the Conduct of NATO-led Operations and Missions. Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> HUTCHINSON, S. 2015. Women, Peace and Security in the South Pacific. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS*. Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.

peace operations requires the consideration of the promotion of female police and military personnel within their respective domestic institutions, then their deployment on international operations. Progress on this matter has varied across UN Member States but the largest police and troop contributing countries have made the least progress. Around the world, servicewomen face a range of obstacles to operational deployment. Some of these issues could be considered in Australia's Defence Cooperation Program. The Defence Cooperation Program could be used to provide professional development for servicewomen, and to increase the understanding of WPS in partner countries. For example, the United States Pacific Command has been including women's participation in its regional engagement with countries such as Bangladesh and Korea as part of the implementation of its NAP.<sup>54</sup>

An important element for operationalising WPS is a female engagement capacity. When women are employed in a security force they have proven effective for "work in areas such as the implementation of protection innovations and the possibility of engaging with women in the community." <sup>55</sup> Recent reports from workshops run by UN Women have shown that women can make some of the best peacekeepers. <sup>57</sup> There have been mixed results from the use of Female Engagement Teams (FET) in Afghanistan. <sup>58</sup> Limitations on the effectiveness of FETs include the fact that they have not been considered as a capability, often employed with little consideration of broader strategy and without suitable training. A similar effect has been sought through the use of mixed Cultural Support Teams, with greater success. <sup>59</sup>

Local women's participation in the peace and security processes of their own country is a matter of multi-agency concern. It may require diplomatic and development assistance for women's organisations involved in leadership, human security or other community safety initiatives.<sup>60</sup> All too often local women's individual and collective views on peace and security are excluded from formal, international peace and security interventions. Recently, we have seen reporting on female Kurdish fighters; women who were university

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> WALKER, J. 2015. Supporting the Integration of Women in the Military Environment. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulting and Safeguarding Components of WPS.* Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL 2015. Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security. New York: United Nations. para 80

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> ALLISON, S. 2015. Are Women Better Peacekeepers? *The Guardian*, 17 September.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> HORSFALL, D. B. D. 2009. Increasing Operational Effectiveness in UN Peacekeeping: Toward a Gender-Bapanced Force. *Armed Forces & Society*, 36, 120-130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> MCNIERNEY, B. 2015. Female Engagement Teams: An Evaluation of the Female Engagement Team Program in Afghanistan. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS*. Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> KATT, M. 2014. Blurred Lines: cultural support teams in Afghanistan. *Joint Force Quarterly*, 75, 106-114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> HUGHES, M. & MENDELSON-FORMAN, J. 2015. Strategic Blindness: The Women in Community Security Project. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS*. Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.

students, mothers and grandmothers.<sup>61</sup> But women in Iraq and Syria are not just taking up arms; they are also working towards peace. For example, in the suburbs of Damascus, a women's group negotiated a 40-day ceasefire between regime and opposition forces to allow the passage of essential supplies.<sup>62</sup> The international community need to see women and girls not just as subject to gross sexual violence, economic strife and the psychological trauma of a war, but as active participants whose work is central to long-term stabilisation and peace.<sup>63</sup>

#### 3.4 Action Plans

The Security Council encourages the development of National Action Plans (NAP) as a tool for governments to articulate priorities and coordinate the implementation of WPS at the national level. So far, fifty countries have developed National Action Plans.<sup>64</sup> The latest two countries to launch their plans are Mali and Afghanistan.<sup>65</sup> New Zealand is in the process of drafting their first National Action Plan,<sup>66</sup> as are Solomon Islands and Japan.<sup>67</sup> These National Action Plans are important public policy responses to the WPS agenda.

There are also six Regional Action Plans. Regional Action Plans can provide opportunities to share economic resources and experience in comparable cultural and historical contexts. The Pacific Island Forum developed the *Pacific Regional Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2015*, providing a framework "to accelerate implementation of existing international, regional and national commitments on women, peace and security." <sup>68</sup> However, even where national or regional plans exist, there remain significant barriers to effective implementation. The most significant of these barriers are resourcing (including personnel and funding) and effective tools for monitoring, evaluation and reporting. <sup>69</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> SHAMSI, P. Ibid.The Sub-Conflict Between ISIL and the Kurdish Forces: Women's Participation Beyond Armed Struggle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> WILLIAMS, K. & BARSA, M. 2014. Syrian Women Know How to Defeat ISIS. *The Institute for Inclusive Security*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> HUTCHINSON, S. 2014. Our Forgotten Allies Against Islamic State: Iraqi and Syrian Women. *The Conversation*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> THE INSTITUTE FOR INCLUSIVE SECURITY. *National Action Plan Resource Centre* [Online]. Washington D.C.: The Institute for Inclusive Security. Available: http://actionplans.inclusivesecurity.org/ [Accessed 3 September 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS 2015. Afghanistan's National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325-Women, Peace, and Security 2015-2022. Kabul: Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TRADE 2015. Draft New Zealand National Action Plan for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions, including 1325, on Women, Peace and Security 2015-2019. Wellington: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> PRESCOTT, J., IWATA, E. & PINCUS, B. 2015. Are Western National Action Plans Likely Models for the Integration of UNSCR1325 into the Japan Self-Defence Forces' Operations. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS*. Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.

 $<sup>^{68}</sup>$  PACIFIC ISLANDS FORUM SECRETARIAT 2012. Pacific Regional Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security. Suva: Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat. Pp3  $\,$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> LIPPAI, Z. & YOUNG, A. 2014. What Matters Most: Measuring Plans for Inclusive Security. Washington D.C.: The Institute for Inclusive Security.

The Australian Government released its first National Action Plan on WPS in 2012. It is a whole of government policy, providing a blueprint for government implementation of WPS for a six year period. The document was developed largely due to pressure from civil society within Australia. Agencies responsible for implementing the NAP include the Department of Defence (including the Australian Defence Force), Attorney General's Department, Australian Federal Police, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Australian Civil-Military Centre, coordinated by Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet.<sup>70</sup>

Australia's NAP has been subject to reporting and analysis through inter-departmental committees, parliamentary process, academic research<sup>71</sup> and civil society consultations.<sup>72</sup> Initial criticisms related to non-implementation of the NAP and in addition there is an ongoing concern about the utility of the NAP's Monitoring and Evaluation Framework.<sup>73</sup> The Australian Government released the first Progress Report on the NAP in 2014,<sup>74</sup> the nature of that product highlighted the weaknesses in the Monitoring and Evaluation Framework.

Throughout the life of the NAP, non-government organisations have released an Annual Civil Society Report Card on the implementation of Australia's National Action Plan. The most recent of these Report Cards included agency specific commentary, identifying opportunities for Defence to solidify its WPS commitments through the expansion of WPS training, working to ensure WPS issues were included in the forthcoming Defence White Paper, and the provision of support to the Pacific Regional Action Plan through the Pacific Island Forum Regional Security Committee.<sup>75</sup> Australia's NAP is currently undergoing an independent interim review. The results of this review are due to be finalised by the end of 2015.

INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM - AUSTRALIAN SECTION, AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR UN WOMEN & AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY - GENDER INSTITUTE 2013. Annual Civil Society Report Card on Australia's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security. Canberra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 2012. Australian National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018. Canberra: Australian Government.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> PRESCOTT, J., IWATA, E. & PINCUS, B. 2015. Are Western National Action Plans Likely Models for the Integration of UNSCR1325 into the Japan Self-Defence Forces' Operations. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS*. Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> HUTCHINSON, S. & LEE-KOO, K. 2015. Shadowing the National Action Plan. *The difference that gender makes to international peace and security.* Brisbane: International Feminist Journal of Politics.
<sup>73</sup> AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, WOMEN'S

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 2014. Progress Report - Australian National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018. *In:* DEPARTMENT OF PRIME MINISTER AND CABINET (ed.). Canberra: Australian Government.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM - AUSTRALIAN SECTION, AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR UN WOMEN & AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY - GENDER INSTITUTE 2014. Annual Civil Society Report Card on Australia's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security. Canberra. pp21-22

# 4. Thematic issues

# 4.1 Legal Framework

There are a range of legal frameworks relevant to WPS and the conduct of military operations. This section will firstly discuss the gendered impacts of international sanctions and embargoes, as well as their ongoing security consequences, and the explicit gender considerations in enforcement and reporting of the Arms Trade Treaty. It will then go on to discuss evolutions in international criminal law, including as it relates to sexual and gender-based violence and as it can be applied internationally and domestically. Lastly, there will be a brief discussion of how these legal considerations differ in the context of peace operations.

International sanctions and embargoes affect women and men differently. While this should be considered in the negotiation of sanctions and embargoes, it also has long-term consequences for security. Drury and Peksen analysed international sanctions for the period 1971-2005, discovering women often suffer significantly from the effects of such external shocks due to their vulnerable socioeconomic and political status. In turn, this affects women's ability to contribute to security in their community. Al-Jawaheri has shown that 13 years of international economic sanctions in Iraq led to an increase in violence against women. In addition she shows the gender related impact of sanctions on women included their employment, education, family relations and domestic responsibilities. In turn, she goes on to show the upsurge in sectarian violence since 2003 has intensified gender inequality and the future prospects for women's security in Iraq. To

The Arms Trade Treaty is the first ever legally-binding regime that recognises the link between gender-based violence and the international arms trade. Australia did not introduce new legislation to give effect to the Arms Trade Treaty because the existing legislative framework and policy met the requirements of the treaty. The treaty is managed by Defence and was ratified after Australia launched the NAP. Article 7, paragraph 4 of the treaty outlaws the transfer of weapons if there is a risk that the weapons will be used to facilitate gender-based violence. In practice, this means that those conducting risk assessments for the export and import of weapons have to take into account gender-based violence or serious acts of violence against women and children as part of the analysis of overriding risks of an arms transfer.<sup>78</sup>

There is a thriving academic community of scholars working on gender justice in international criminal law. De Brouwer reminds us that "edicts banning wartime sexual assaults were inserted into ancient warrior codes. International conventions, such as the 1929 Geneva Convention prohibited infliction of sexual assaults upon female and male

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> DRURY, C. & PEKSEN, D. 2014. Women and economic statecraft: The negative impact economic sanctions visit on women. *European Journal of International Relations*, 20, 463-490.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> AL-JAWAHERI, Y. 2008. *Women in Iraq: The Gender Impact of International Sanctions, Boulder,* Lynne Rienner Publishers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> REACHING CRITICAL WILL 2015. Gender-Based Violence and the Arms Trade Treaty. Geneva.

prisoners of war. In the immediate aftermath of the World War II, martial law decrees such as Control Council No. 10 explicitly proscribed rapes as acts of crimes against humanity."<sup>79</sup> But there was still a dearth of investigations and prosecutions. This situation is slowly beginning to change.

Over the past 20 years, there have been major legal developments in the international criminalisation and prosecution of sexual and gender-based violence. International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda set a non-binding, but highly authoritative precedent for the prosecution of gendered crimes.<sup>80</sup> The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, a ground-breaking treaty due to its codification of international criminal law and its recognition of the crimes committed against women in times of war and conflict, entered into force in 2002. It established a permanent court with jurisdiction to prosecute rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced sterilisation, forced pregnancy and any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity, as war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide.<sup>81</sup> The principle of complementarity of the International Criminal Court also obliges States Parties to investigate and prosecute the crimes outlined in the Rome Statute. There are domestic/international hybrid courts adjudicating gendered crimes in East Timor, Cambodia and elsewhere. UNSCR 1820 calls upon Member States to prosecute persons responsible for such crimes and subsequent resolutions call for an end to impunity for sexual violence in armed conflict.

For sexual violence to be considered "a constitutive act with respect to genocide," 82 it needs to have been committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part a national, ethnical, racial or religious group. The precedent for rape as an instrument of genocide was set in the Akayesu Case of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. A more recent example of rape used in this way may be as part of the Daesh genocide against the Yazidi people. 83 Genocide is justiciable internationally, but has also been a crime under Australian domestic law since 2002, when the federal government passed the *Genocide Convention Act* 1949.

Rape is recognised as a war crime when it is committed in a widespread or systematic way. The Čelebići judgement of the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia set the standard for holding a military leader responsible for crimes committed by subordinates under their authority or control, which they failed to prevent, halt, or punish.<sup>84</sup> Having known or had reason to know subordinates committed sexual abuses on male detainees, the superiors in the Čelebići Camp were charged with superior

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup>DEBROUWER, A.-M., KU, C., ROMKENS, R. & VANDENHERIK, L. 2013. *Sexual Violence as an International Crime: Interdisciplanary Approaches*, Cambridge, Intersentia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> ASKIN, K. 2004. A Decade of the Development of Gender Crimes in International Courts and Tribunals: 1993 to 2003. *Human Rights Brief.* Washington D.C. pp4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> CHAPPELL, L. 2015. *The Politics of Gender Justice at the International Criminal Court,* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

<sup>82</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1820. (2008). Operative clause 4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> UNKNOWN. 2015. ISIL may have committed genocide, war crimes in Iraq, says UN human rights report. *UN News Centre*, 19 March.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> ASKIN, K. 2004. A Decade of the Development of Gender Crimes in International Courts and Tribunals: 1993 to 2003. *Human Rights Brief.* Washington D.C.

responsibility for 'wilfully causing great suffering' and 'inhumane treatment' as grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions, or 'cruel treatment' as a violation of the laws or customs of war.

Rape can also be prosecuted as a violation of the laws or customs of war, Common Article 3 to the Geneva Conventions, the Fourth Geneva Convention, or both Additional Protocols I and II to the Geneva Conventions. 85 In Australia, war crimes and violations of the laws and customs of war are criminalised in the *Geneva Conventions Act 1957* (last updated in 2009) and the *War Crimes Act 1945* (last updated in 2010). These two acts have been incorporated in Division 268 of the *Criminal Code Act 1995*.

In peace operations, the tolerance, or legal threshold for sexual and gender-based violence is much lower than armed conflict. In peace operations, human rights law is more dominant and peacekeepers will likely be mandated to prevent 'serious breaches of human rights.' Sexual violence easily falls into the category of serious breach of human rights.<sup>86</sup> There are also stronger considerations of sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers of local women and children. The UN has a policy on gender equality in peacekeeping,<sup>87</sup> and a zero tolerance of sexual exploitation and abuse.<sup>88</sup>

# 4.2 Conflict Analysis

UNSCR 1889 calls for the data collection, analysis and systematic assessment of the particular needs of women and girls, including "information on their needs for physical security and participation in decision-making and post-conflict planning, in order to improve system-wide response to those needs." <sup>89</sup> There is a great deal of overlap between the deliberate planning and conduct of an operation, and the ongoing conflict analysis. This section will consider gendered analysis of conflict as it might occur before an operation, during deliberate planning, and during the conduct of tactical operations. It will include information on the context within which an operation is due to take place, analysis of the operational environment, as well as ongoing information requirements and collection.

Some of the intelligence issues outlined here may be remedied with guidance from the commander. For example, gender specific information could be included in the commander's critical information requirements or identified as priority information requirements. Or data on sexual violence may be identified as an area of intelligence interest, or an aspect "of the environment and threats likely to affect the outcome of

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. pp4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> SELLERS, P. V. 2011. The Prosecution of Sexual Violence in Conflict: The Importance of Human Rights as Means of Interpretation. . *Reports on Sexual Violence in Conflict & Protection in Post-Conflict.* Geneva: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> DEPARTMENT OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS 2010. Gender Equality in UN Peacekeeping Operations. New York: United Nations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> CONDUCT AND DISCIPLINE UNIT 2010. Sexual Exploitation and Abuse Policy. New York: United Nations.

<sup>89</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1889. (2009)-b. Operative clause 6

current and future operations."90 This may require intelligence staff to request support from external organisations such as coalition forces and strategic assets. But it is likely that a gender perspective will need to be applied at a range of levels within the intelligence system which is responsible for the provision of intelligence on threats from the operational environment. It has been suggested that military intelligence organisations designate a Gender Advisor to improve implementation of a gender perspective in intelligence and information gathering. 22

It is well understood that "understanding the human factors of an area of operations is central to counterintelligence and counterinsurgency operations - for example a group's culture, demographics or behaviour and an individual's values, beliefs or intentions." For population centric operations to respond to the security needs of the whole community, this understanding must be gendered. Hughes notes however, that "security assessments, plans and analysis appear to exclude serious considerations of women's contributions to community resilience, sustainable peace, and local security... it appears as though, when it comes to gender, security assistance has not been informed by an accurate understanding of the operating environment." Indicators of the extent to which conflict analysis is gendered might include the appearance of words such as women, wife, mother, children, sexual violence, and rape. While other government departments may have some of the relevant information it will also likely to appear in reports from non-government organisations, 95 women's civil society groups, 9697 and in UN reporting.

Threat assessments need to include threats to women. These threats may include sexual and gender-based violence, or they may be more general. What are the differences between threats to men and women? What are the threat courses of action? The same questions apply for assessment of strengths and weaknesses; women are not just recipients of security, but are "countering the complex problems that threaten peace and stability" 98 in a broad range of ways. Hughes highlights a range of contributions to what she calls community security, although women contribute to regular and irregular armed forces,

<sup>90</sup> JOINT DOCTRINE CENTRE 2015. Joint Military Appreciation Process. In: AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE FORCE (ed.) Second ed. Canberra: Defence Publishing Service. pp1A-3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Ibid. pp1A-2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> EGNELL, R., HOJEM, P. & BERTS, H. 2012. Implementing a Gender Perspective in Military Organisations and Operations. Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research. pp40

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> JOINT DOCTRINE CENTRE 2015. Joint Military Appreciation Process. *In:* AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE FORCE (ed.) Second ed. Canberra: Defence Publishing Service. pp1A-3

<sup>94</sup> HUGHES, M. & MENDELSON-FORMAN, J. 2015. Strategic Blindness: The Women in Community Security Project. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS*. Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.pp169

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> LEHMANN, H., BAIN, A. & PANDIT, E. 2014. Are We Listening? Acting on Our Commitments to Women and Girls Affected by the Syrian Conflict. New York: International Rescue Committee.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> BOOKEY, B. 2010. Our Bodies are Still Trembling: Haitian Women's Fight Against Rape. Port au Prince: Institute for Justice & Democracy om Haiti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF BURMA 2014. Same Impunity, Same Patterns. Chang Mai: Women's League of Burma.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> HUGHES, M. & MENDELSON-FORMAN, J. 2015. Strategic Blindness: The Women in Community Security Project. Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS. Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College. pp170

clandestine services, they provide hospitality to insurgents, and raise the next generation into violent behaviours or otherwise. They participate in peacebuilding, negotiate ceasefires and support traditional non-violent conflict resolution processes. 99 It is unlikely that women can be categorised as an amorphous group. Women's groups may not wish to be too closely associated with international forces, nevertheless can specific women's groups be considered friendly, neutral or spoilers?

Men and women may use infrastructure and basic services differently. The Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations has compiled practical examples of gender perspectives in operational planning, including the different effects of local road blocks on women and men, girls and boys. 100 A classic example of 'gender neutral' planning was a de-mining effort that did not consult with women in the community. Having consulted with the men, they proceeded to de-mine certain sections of road. Unfortunately women and children were still being injured by mines and agricultural production remained low. Women in that community travel with their children through the fields, tending to crops to feed their families. It was the fields that needed to be de-mined for the community to return to safety and self-sufficiency.

Egnell notes that "systematic collection of data regarding a gender perspective from the field, including sex-disaggregated data, is important for the evaluation of the effects of operations. Information regarding sexual and gender-based violence and human trafficking should be included in such data." <sup>101</sup> The data required for operational assessments comes from a broad range of friendly force and intelligence sources. <sup>102</sup> Accordingly, a gender perspective will need to be applied across a large range of organisations to ensure ongoing operational assessments account for the security of both men and women. This necessitates changes to the collection plan all the way down to the tactical level.

In order to achieve this, the Irish Defence Forces have mainstreamed a gender perspective into all unit and sub-unit patrols. They have updated standard operating procedures and reporting proformas for tactical manoeuvre units, sub-unit patrols and CIMIC village assessments. Information from these reports is collated in the regular Gender Advisor report that is collated by the Deputy Commander. Reports now include sex-disaggregated population data; female leaders and influencers; women's groups; roles of men and women in security forces, armed groups intelligence and law enforcement; access to social services; sex disaggregated list of protection threats; and differences between men

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> BUCHANAN, C. (ed.) 2011. *Peacemaking in Asia and the Pacific: Women's participation, perspectives and priorities,* Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

<sup>100</sup> HAMMAR, L. & BERG, A. 2015. Whose Security? Practical Examples of Gender Perspectives in Military Operations. Stockholm: Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> EGNELL, R., HOJEM, P. & BERTS, H. 2014. *Gender, Military Effectiveness, and Organisational Change - The Swedish Model, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.* pp13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> JOINT DOCTRINE CENTRE 2015. Joint Military Appreciation Process. *In:* AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE FORCE (ed.) Second ed. Canberra: Defence Publishing Service. pp1-12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> HINDS, B. & McMINN, K. 2013. Mid-Term Progress Report: Implementation of Ireland's National Action Plan for UNSCR 1325. Dublin: Irish Government

and women's economic participation. All of this information is then used within the deliberate planning phase.

# 4.3 Deliberate Planning

While there is significant overlap between conflict analysis and deliberate planning, deliberate planning also has significant ramifications for other thematic issues including security sector reform and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration. The Secretary General's Report WPS called on all actors "to ensure gender analysis and women's participation are part of all planning processes." <sup>104</sup> This section will cover gender aspects of who does deliberate planning in the Australian Defence Force, as well as planning considerations, processes and outcomes.

The difference between sex and gender becomes particularly important in the context of deliberate planning. In the Australian Defence Force, men and women undergo the same training regardless of sex, with only some minor differences between physical fitness tests. Broadly speaking, the technical and professional training is the same. The ability for serving women to 'just do their jobs,' and do them well, regardless of their sex has been of the utmost importance personally and professionally.

While women's participation is an important aspect of the WPS agenda, increasing the number of servicewomen in operational planning cells may have limited utility, particularly if their professional training and roles are largely the same as male planners. There is an argument that servicewomen who are mothers may be more likely to think about the consequences of a certain plan on women and children in the area of operations, but this is not how they are trained to act. Furthermore, servicemen who are fathers may well exhibit similar tendencies to consider the impact of a plan on children, an argument that may be corollary to business research finding that when a male CEO has a daughter, he moves to close the gender pay gap at his company.<sup>105</sup>

However, in the operational environment, it is likely that there will be greater differentiation between gender roles. Indeed, Hudson has shown empirically that the greatest indicator of conflict is not degree of democracy, religious identity, or other socio-cultural indicators. The best indicator of conflict is gender equality. The larger the gender gap is, "the more likely a country is to be involved in intra- and interstate conflict, to be the first to resort to force in such conflicts, and to resort to higher levels of violence. On issues of national health, economic growth, corruption, and social welfare, the best predictors are also those that reflect the situation of women. What happens to women affects the security, stability, prosperity, bellicosity, corruption, health, regime type, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL 2015. Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security. New York: United Nations. para 162

 <sup>105</sup> DAHL, M., DEZSO, C. & ROSS, D. G. 2012. Fatherhood and Managerial Style: How a Male CEO's Children Affects Wages of His Employees. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 57, 669-693.
 106 HUDSON, V. M., BALLIF-SPANVILL, B., CAPRIOLI, M. & EMMETT, C. F. 2012. *Sex & World Peace*, New York, Columbia University Press.

(yes) the power of the state." <sup>107</sup> The reality of women's lived experience of conflict remains important for the development of effective supporting plans for information operations; intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance; and health. The utility of these plans can be largely based on the accuracy of the planning assumptions and the information they are based on.

The dominant narrative will often exclude the true role of women in armed forces, particularly irregular and neutral forces. Although the portion of women in national armies, guerrilla forces or armed liberation movements varies, it ranges from 10-30%. In Sri Lanka, women comprised a third of fighting forces. <sup>108</sup> In Liberia, the dominant narrative described women's experience of the civil war as one of victimhood, particularly as victims of sexual violence at the hands of male combatants. However, data shows that 20-40% of combatants were women, and the primary role of 70% of those women was as a combat soldier. <sup>109</sup> After the conflict, 20% of women could envision fighting again for material goods, but only 11% of men would. <sup>110</sup> This sort of discrepancy has implications for targeting, both kinetic and non-kinetic, as well as other ongoing planning considerations such as protection, transition assistance, security sector reform; and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration.

The Joint Military Appreciation Process (JMAP) provides doctrinal guidance for planning Australian Defence Force campaigns and operations. Recent developments in the JMAP support better integration of WPS into deliberate planning. Changes to the doctrine<sup>111</sup> are not specific to either gender or WPS, nonetheless they facilitate a cognitive approach which is more open to these concerns. The changes are positive, but for WPS to be effectively implemented in the JMAP, producing a concept of operations and operational plan, the doctrine needs to be read in conjunction with specific WPS material. This critical approach is encouraged in the doctrine, emphasising the value of professional military education and describing critical thinking as "an important skill for planners to develop and exercise because it enables them to challenge accepted norms, to determine the right questions to ask and to answer those questions with an intellectual rigour that might otherwise lack depth." The JMAP retains a focus on threats to Defence, which does not necessarily facilitate consideration of threats to the local population, setting up a tension between the doctrine and the population centric operations described in AC-FLOC. However, the doctrine does discuss the use of JMAP in a non-adversarial environment<sup>113</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> HUDSON, V. 2012. What Sex Means for World Peace. *Foreign Policy* [Online]. Available from: http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/04/24/what-sex-means-for-world-peace/ [Accessed 24 April. <sup>108</sup> WANG, P. 2011. Women in the LTTE: Birds of Freedom or Cogs in the Wheel? *Journal of Politics* 

and Law, 4, 100-108.

 $<sup>^{109}</sup>$  PUGEL, J. 2007. What the Fighter's Say: A Survey of Ex-combatants in Liberia. Monrovia: United Nations Development Programme.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> HILL, R., TAYLOR, G. & TEMIN, J. 2008. Would you Fight Again? *Special Report*. Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> JOINT DOCTRINE CENTRE 2015. Joint Military Appreciation Process. *In:* AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE FORCE (ed.) Second ed. Canberra: Defence Publishing Service.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Ibid. pp 1-8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Ibid. pp1-9

and discusses contexts when the threats under consideration may be to the mission, rather than Defence.

The new first step of the JMAP, 'Framing and Scoping,' provides an excellent opportunity to incorporate WPS considerations into planning. A WPS expert could join the small group of skilled personnel from within the joint planning group as a subject matter expert alongside an anthropologist and religious scholar. This would ensure gendered considerations of the problem as well as the initial commander's critical information requirements, and consideration of force elements for the provision of Cultural Support or Female Engagement Teams. Having said that, WPS expertise needs to not only be applied at the scoping phase.

Feminist scholars would argue that the minimum required questions to frame the problem cannot be answered without consideration of details such as gender and ethnicity. The JMAP repeatedly refers to 'human factors', 'society' and 'actors'. "Often relationships among actors are multifaceted and differ depending on the scale of interaction and their temporal aspects (history, duration, type and frequency)." However, there is a vast array of scholarship to indicate that one cannot have a meaningful understanding of these interrelationships, power, exclusion or conflict in a society if we are blind to identities such as gender, ethnicity, class, and income. Without accessing groups other than the most dominant, planners will not be able to answer questions like "why have the current circumstances arisen?" 115 Which related conditions, actors or relationships may oppose us; which may help us? "What broad resources can we draw upon to achieve our goals?" 116

# 4.4 Security Sector Reform

Security sector reform (SSR) has been a topic of great interest in recent years, as an important means for addressing issues of instability around the world. Several of the Security Council resolutions on WPS discuss security sector reform. There are three main issues that can be drawn from the resolutions: consultation with women about SSR, women's participation within the security forces, and excluding individuals who have perpetrated sexual violence from the security forces. Each of these issues will be discussed here.

Security sector reform is part of a broader process of improving governance and stability. UNSCR 1820 requests "consultation with women and women-led organizations as appropriate, to develop effective mechanisms for... security sector reform." This view is reflected in work undertaken by the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces who recognise the integration of gender issues as a key to local ownership and strengthened oversight. In their toolkit for gender inclusive SSR, they have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Ibid. pp2-14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Ibid. pp2-15

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. pp2-15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> SCHNABEL, A. & FARR, V. 2011. *Back to the Roots: Secrity Sector Reform and Development,* Geneva, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1820. (2008). Operative clause 10

shown that increasing the recruitment of female staff, preventing human rights violations, and collaborating with women's organisations contributes to creating an efficient, accountable and participatory security sector which responds to the specific needs of men, women, girls and boys. 119

The preamble to UNSCR 1888 recognises that women's participation in the national armed and security forces helps to build a "security sector that is accessible and responsive to all, especially women." <sup>120</sup> A range of academic sources repeat this point, as do reports from non-government organisations. <sup>121</sup> Women's presence in justice and security sector institutions can increase trust in, access to, and can encourage women to report sexual and gender-based violence. <sup>122</sup> For example, data from 39 countries shows a positive correlation between the presence of women police officers and sexual assault reporting. <sup>123</sup> One Afghan woman affected by gender-based violence explained "a policewoman would have been good for me. If there are policewomen we can easily say everything to them - she understands how women feel." <sup>124</sup> Security forces that are responsive, effective, professional and accountable are more likely "to be a source of protection for populations and a tool of stability for governments, rather than a source of instability." <sup>125</sup>

Women's participation in the security sector is further encouraged in UNSCR 2106 which requests women's participation in "security sector reform processes and arrangements, including through the provision of adequate training for security personnel, encouraging the inclusion of more women in the security sector." 126 This provision of training for security personnel provides another opportunity to advance WPS more broadly. For example, professional military education and even trade training can cover the importance of WPS for operational effectiveness. This might apply to counterinsurgency training in Iraq, or to officer exchanges for military education purposes.

UNSCR 2106 requests "effective vetting processes in order to exclude from the security sector those who have perpetrated or are responsible for acts of sexual violence." <sup>127</sup> In practice, excluding individuals who have perpetrated acts of sexual violence is an issue that is very difficult to navigate. Many nations who contributed to the International

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> BASTICK, M. & VALASEK, K. 2008. *Gender & Security Sector Reform Toolkit*, Geneva, Geneva Centre for Democtratic Control of Armed Forces.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1888. (2009)-a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> OXFAM INTERNATIONAL 2012. The Accountability of National Security Forces to Civilians. *Oxfam Policy Compendium Note*. Oxford: Oxfam International.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1960. (2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> TURQUET, L. 2011. Progress of the World's Women 2011-2012: In Pursuit of Justice. New York: UN Women.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> OXFAM INTERNATIONAL. *For Afghan women, police should protect, not abuse* [Online]. Oxford. Available: https://www.oxfam.org/en/countries/afghan-women-police-should-protect-not-abuse [Accessed 14 April 2015].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> OXFAM INTERNATIONAL 2012. The Accountability of National Security Forces to Civilians. *Oxfam Policy Compendium Note*. Oxford: Oxfam International.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 2106. (2013)-a. Operative clause 16, para b

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Ibid. Operative clause 16, para b

Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan felt forced to work alongside a range of individuals suspected of sexual violence. Security sector actors are often among the main perpetrators of violence during and after conflict. Vetting security sector recruits for conflict related crimes against women, including sexual and gender-based violence is an important step toward re-establishing the community's trust. The intent of UNSCR 2106 is to address widespread or systemic use of sexual violence as a tactic of war and to address impunity for such behaviour. For example, there are several reports of the Burmese Army using sexual violence in conflict in a strategy that has political and economic dimensions, against particular ethnic groups. <sup>128</sup> In those contexts, the issue becomes much more salient.

## 4.5 Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration

UNSCR 1325 "encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants." DDR programming is notoriously flawed, it is rarely suitably funded, planning is rarely conducted with a comprehensive campaign in mind, nor is it coordinated across all the relevant agencies. Most notably the reintegration phase is often ill considered. Communities and development agencies are often not included in the initial planning required for the program continuum to succeed. However, there have been several developments in gender inclusive DDR since UNSCR 1325. This section will discuss the increasing academic critique of DDR, gender specific case studies, and some relevant examples of DDR policy.

"Successful and inclusive DDR offers a rare opportunity to transform a war-torn community where combatants can become citizens and civilians can begin to rebuild shattered lives under the protection of the rule of law. To leave women and girls behind in such a crucial moment is not only to violate their right to participate but also to undermine the very objectives of DDR, namely sustainable and equitable development." All too often, human and financial resources have been inadequately committed to DDR. In this context, pragmatic decision-makers have focused DDR efforts on the problem of disarming men with guns. However, this approach fails to address the fact that women can also be armed combatants or that women play essential roles in maintaining and enabling armed groups. Leaving women out of the process underestimates the extent to which peace requires women to participate equally in the transformation from a violent society to a peaceful one.

Over the past decade, women have been active combatants in at least 55 countries, involved in internal armed conflict in 38 of those countries and a large number of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF BURMA 2014. Same Impunity, Same Patterns. Chang Mai: Women's League of Burma.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1325. (2000). Operative clause 13 <sup>130</sup> DOUGLAS, S., FARR, V., HILL, F. & KASUMA, W. 2004. Getting it Right, Doing it Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration. *In:* DOUGLAS, S. & HILL, F. (eds.). New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women.

international armed conflicts.<sup>131</sup> In East Timor, Kent and Kinsella have noted that "women contributed to all aspects of the Resistance." <sup>132</sup> However, women who served have still been excluded from the current veteran's scheme that includes a pension and access to health and education opportunities. FRETILIN included a women's wing, whose membership comprised over 60 percent of the 'Clandestine' front. They played "key roles as couriers, supplying those on the front lines with food and other necessities, seeking support within the church and local communities for the independence movement and hiding senior members of the Resistance." <sup>133</sup> Women also coordinated the provision of supplies to the front line, managed armouries and kept guard against enemy infiltration of bases. <sup>134</sup> Their exclusion from the veteran's scheme is akin to excluding Australian members of ordinance, transport and intelligence corps from entitlements from the Department of Veteran's Affairs.

Good DDR programing requires accurate understanding of the operational context. Each conflict is unique and DDR processes need to be designed accordingly. In non-state armed groups, women generally serve in three ways: combatant, support worker or wife/dependant. They can fill these roles voluntarily or under duress and often fill more than one role at once. A woman might be a dependent and also be involved in the planning and execution of war. She may be a fighter, spy, cook and mother all at the same time, filling multiple inseparable roles. Data must be gathered in order to develop a more accurate picture of the particular roles women filled during a specific conflict. 136

Gender inclusive DDR programs need to have a wider range of eligibility criteria than just having handed in a weapon. "A relatively large number of women, compared with men, operate in armies as cooks, messengers, doctors, logisticians etc. They are not directly engaged in fighting, and therefore tend not to carry a weapon. Without a weapon, they often cannot prove that they have participated in armies during conflict and thus get excluded from DDR assistance." When women are wives or dependents they may follow their male counterparts into the bush and live in the direct vicinity of the barracks and camps. When the conflict is over, she too will need to take up civilian life again.

There are two relevant examples of gender specific DDR policy. The Dutch draft DDR policy targets all women and men in armed forces with post-conflict assistance. The disarmament and demobilisation trajectory is gender sensitised, and the reintegration

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> BOUTA, T. 2005. Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration - Building Blocs for Dutch Policy. The Hague: Conflict Research Unit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> KENT, L. & KINSELLA, N. 2015. A Luta Kontinua (The Struggle Continues). *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 17, 473-494. p477

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Ibid. pp478

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> BOUTA, T. 2005. Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration - Building Blocs for Dutch Policy. The Hague: Conflict Research Unit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> DOUGLAS, S., FARR, V., HILL, F. & KASUMA, W. 2004. Getting it Right, Doing it RIght: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration. *In:* DOUGLAS, S. & HILL, F. (eds.). New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> BOUTA, T. 2005. Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration - Building Blocs for Dutch Policy. The Hague: Conflict Research Unit.

phase responds to the different economic, social and psychosocial needs of men and women. They have also developed a donor checklist on gender and DDR. The list covers the planning phase (including assessment, mandates, scope, international arrangements, the package of benefits), assembly and cantonment, resettlement, social reintegration into communities and economic reintegration.<sup>138</sup>

The Integrated DDR Standards draw upon the lessons learnt and best practices of the UN. They provide guidance and operational tools for all aspects of the DDR process. Gender is mainstreamed as a cross cutting issue throughout the standards. Rather than just being gender inclusive, the Integrated DDR Standards state that the "design and implementation of DDR programmes should aim to encourage gender equality based on gender-sensitive assessments that take into account these different experiences, roles and responsibilities during and after conflict. Specific measures must be put in place to ensure the equal participation of women in all stages of DDR — from the negotiation of peace agreements and establishment of national institutions, to the design and implementation of specific programmes and projects." <sup>139</sup>

#### 4.6 Transition Assistance

UNSCR 1325 called for measures to "ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary." <sup>140</sup> SSR and DDR form part of Defence contributions to transition assistance. However other transition tasks can include support to elections, governance and the rule of law.

There are a range of security considerations for women's participation in electoral processes. Threats and violence are used as a deliberate tactic to deter women from political participation and need to be considered in security support. Women political candidates and politicians are often exposed to different threats than their male colleagues. Women also face different barriers for voting registration and turnout.

While broader questions of governance concern a whole range of agencies, Defence may subsume some of these functions. UNSCR 1889 "encourages Member States in post-conflict situations, in consultation with civil society, including women's organizations, to specify in detail women and girls' needs and priorities and design concrete strategies, in accordance with their legal systems, to address those needs and priorities, which cover inter alia support for greater physical security and better socio-economic conditions, through education, income generating activities, access to basic services, in particular health services, including sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights and

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> UNITED NATIONS 2006. Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards. New York: United Nations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1325. (2000). Operative clause 8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL 2015. Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security. New York: United Nations.

mental health, gender-responsive law enforcement and access to justice, as well as enhancing capacity to engage in public decision-making at all levels." <sup>142</sup>

The state functions of rule of law and access to justice are also important to broader objectives of stabilisation and security. Rule of law is crucial to the legitimacy of the state. "But counter-intuitively, efforts to re-establish law's centrality and legitimacy may actually be counter-productive for women." According to Aolain and Hamilton, "some of the most gendered and problematic dimensions of rule-of-law discourse and practice can arise with intensity in post-conflict or post-repressive societies." It is for this very reason that UNSCR 1889 includes specific provisions on women and girls needs in designing strategies for law enforcement and justice. Donors are often torn between traditional approaches to the law and international principles of justice. Under the law are gender approach in rule of law initiatives is crucial to long-term success." It

## 4.7 Disaster Response

There is overwhelming evidence that men and women experience disasters differently and that the best disaster responses are gender sensitive. Women and men die at different rates in disasters and survivors have different needs. This section will discuss key issues of gendered mortality rates, gendered health needs, and gendered contributions to a response. It will first address disaster response in the international context, then explore response to disasters within Australia.

Internationally, women are more likely to die during natural disasters. A report that sampled mortality data from 141 countries found that on average, natural disasters and their ongoing impact kill more women than men, or kill women at an earlier age than men. Within the Asia Pacific region, data shows the gender mortality gap to be particularly high. Ninety per cent of the 140 000 victims of a 1991 cyclone in Bangladesh were women. Over 60 per cent of fatalities in Myanmar from Cyclone Nargis were women. In some villages surveyed in Aceh after the Indian Ocean tsunami, women accounted for

 $<sup>^{142}</sup>$  UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1889. (2009)-b. Operative clause 10  $\,$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> MASON, W. 2011. *The Rule of Law in Afghanistan: Missing in Inaction*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

AOLAIN, F. & HAMILTON, M. 2009. Gender and the Rule of Law in Transitional Societies.
 Minnesota Legal Studies Research Paper. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Law School. pp108
 Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> PUTZEL, J., ESSER, D. & MOENS, L. 2010. *Do No Harm: International Support for Statebuilding*, Paris, OECD Publishing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> GRINA, E. 2011. Mainstreaming Gender in Rule of Law Initiatives in Post-Conflict Settings. *William & Mary Journal of Women and the Law,* 17, 436-473.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> NEUMAYER, E. & PLUMPER, T. 2007. The gendered nature of natural disasters: the impact of catastrophic events on the gender gap in life expectancy, 1981-2002. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 97, 551-566.

77 per cent of fatalities.<sup>149</sup> There are a range of reasons for this gender gap, some of which relate to socio-economic vulnerability and other pre-existing inequalities.

Women and girls have specific health needs during and in the aftermath of disasters. "Due to social norms and their interaction with biological factors, women and children-particularly girls- may face increased risk to adverse health effects and violence. They may be unable to access assistance safely and/or to make their needs known. Additionally, women are insufficiently included in community consultation and decision-making processes, resulting in their needs not being met." <sup>150</sup> Pregnant, lactating and menstruating women and girls are particularly vulnerable during disasters. They have greater food and water needs, but are less mobile. The physical and psychological stress of a disaster can bring on childbirth. Pregnant women also face higher risks of miscarriage, stillbirth and infant and maternal mortality. After the Indian Ocean tsunami, the toilet conditions in Tamil Nadu were so poor that women and girls suppressed the urge to defecate and urinate, leading to an increase in urinary tract infections. After floods in Pakistan, privacy around the lavatories meant women waited till dark to use the bathroom, increasing their vulnerability to disease and attack. <sup>151</sup>

Women are often at the forefront of recovery and rehabilitation efforts. Ferris explains "women serve their communities as leaders in ways that often go unrecognized by national governments and international organizations. While they may not hold positions of visible political leadership (for example, as mayors), women are key to a society's social fabric and hence, its capacity for resilience." Women transmit culture and shape behaviour and knowledge through the family and social networks that are critical to response efforts and risk reduction. They serve as teachers, nurses and social workers and are in positions to assess community needs and implement relief and recovery programs. For example, in Aceh, six months after the Indian Ocean tsunami, 70 per cent of the community organisations following up with disaster response were primarily 'staffed' by women. 153

"Despite evidence that gender is a factor in disaster vulnerabilities and strengths, and recognition at international, regional and domestic policy levels, Australian state and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> SHTEIR, S. 2013. Gendered Crisis, Gendered Responses - The Necessity and Utility of a Gender Perspective in Armed Conflicts and Natural Disasters: An Introductory Overview. *Civil-Military Occassional Paper*. Queanbeyan: Australian Civil-Military Centre.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION. 2015. *Gender and health in disasters* [Online]. Geneva: World Health Organization. [Accessed 23 September 2015].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> SHTEIR, S. 2013. Gendered Crisis, Gendered Responses - The Necessity and Utility of a Gender Perspective in Armed Conflicts and Natural Disasters: An Introductory Overview. *Civil-Military Occassional Paper*. Queanbeyan: Australian Civil-Military Centre.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> FERRIS, E., PETZ, D. & STARK, C. 2013. Disaster Risk Management: A Gender-Sensitive Approach is a Smart Approach. *The Year of Recurring Disasters: A Review of Natural Disasters in* 2012. Washington D.C: The Brookings Institution. pp72

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> SHTEIR, S. 2013. Gendered Crisis, Gendered Responses - The Necessity and Utility of a Gender Perspective in Armed Conflicts and Natural Disasters: An Introductory Overview. *Civil-Military Occassional Paper*. Queanbeyan: Australian Civil-Military Centre.

territory and national emergency recovery plans reveal a pervasive gender-blindness." <sup>154</sup> A key difference in vulnerability in Australian bushfires is when women are left alone or with dependents in the home. <sup>155</sup> However, unlike the international data, figures show that the majority of fatalities in Australian bushfires and floods are men. "This may be related to Australian men being more likely to be involved in frontline emergency management roles, outdoor activities and engaging in high risk behaviour." <sup>156</sup> Men and women also have different mental health risks and responses that need to be accounted for in the context of post-disaster assistance. <sup>157</sup>

Both domestically and internationally, women are at increased risk of violence and exploitation during and after disasters. Disasters exacerbate known risk factors such as disability, homelessness and trauma. Parkinson has undertaken a review of domestic violence in the aftermath of the Black Saturday bushfires, suggesting there was a marked increase in violence against women. Data gathered following the 2011 Christchurch earthquake also suggests the increase in family violence was as much as 50 per cent.<sup>158</sup>

# 5. Conclusion

This literature review has been prepared concurrent to the Global Study on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325. In his 2015 report on Women, Peace and Security, United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon observed that "these review processes coincided with one of the most brutal waves of organized violence in modern history. Over the past few years, armed conflict has erupted or escalated in multiple locations... The growing spread of violent extremism during this period was marked by abuses and violations on women and girls' rights." <sup>159</sup> In her foreword to the Global Study, Radhika Coomaraswamy noted that UNSCR 1325 was one of the most inspired achievements of the Security Council, but "we struggle to bridge the declared intent of international policymaking and the reality of domestic action in the many corners of the world where resolution 1325 is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> HAZELEGER, T. 2013. Gender and disaster recovery: strategic issues and action in Australia - See more at: https://ajem.infoservices.com.au/items/AJEM-28-02-

<sup>12#</sup>sthash.zzbClwzx.xbOQhDkp.dpuf. Australian Journal of Emergency Management, 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> PARKINSON, D. 2011. Gender, Disaster and Violence. Wangaratta: Women's Health Goulburn North East.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> HAZELEGER, T. 2013. Gender and disaster recovery: strategic issues and action in Australia - See more at: https://ajem.infoservices.com.au/items/AJEM-28-02-

<sup>12#</sup>sthash.zzbClwzx.xbOQhDkp.dpuf. Australian Journal of Emergency Management, 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN SERVICES 2014. Psychosocial support: a framework for emergencies. Melbourne: Victorian Government.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> SHTEIR, S. 2013. Gendered Crisis, Gendered Responses - The Necessity and Utility of a Gender Perspective in Armed Conflicts and Natural Disasters: An Introductory Overview. *Civil-Military Occassional Paper*. Queanbeyan: Australian Civil-Military Centre.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL 2015. Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security. New York: United Nations. Paragraph 5

most needed." 160 Using a constructivist analysis, this literature review has provided a unique contribution to the discourse on the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda by considering the issues described within the suite of resolutions, as they apply to existing, explicit priorities of a pre-eminent national security organisation.

This literature review provides a valuable gap analysis, offers examples of ways to improve implementation, and will support ongoing implementation of the Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security. It has brought together the operative clauses of the suite of Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security with key, pre-existing, explicit issues in the planning and conduct of military operations. Little research has been undertaken into the comprehensive operationalisation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. However, valuable theoretical and practical research has been undertaken within the context of specific thematic issues that play out in the deliberate planning and conduct of joint military operations. These issues include the legal framework for operations; intelligence process for conflict analysis; deliberate planning processes and products; security sector reform; disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration; transition assistance; and disaster response. By considering the gendered dimensions of each of these key issues, we can strategically integrate Women, Peace and Security into the planning, conduct and transition of joint military operations internationally and at home.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> COOMARASWAMY, R. 2015. A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325: Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace. New York. Pp5

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# Operationalising United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 within the Australian Defence Force

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#### 19. ABSTRACT

This literature review surveys and analyses the existing literature, policy and practice in order to support Headquarters Joint Operations Command's comprehensive incorporation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 into Australian Defence Force (ADF) operational planning and conduct. It draws upon academic literature as well as practitioner reports on military implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. The literature review will enhance understanding of good practice and inform the development of measures of effectiveness for the ADF's implementation of Australia's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018.

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